

# SPEECH

OF THE

HON. JOHN W. TIBBATS, OF KENTUCKY,

ON THE BILL MAKING

## APPROPRIATIONS FOR HARBORS AND RIVERS.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 17, 1846.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. TIBBATS addressed the committee as follows:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I had not originally contemplated speaking on the subject under consideration. I had always rather act than talk, and it is always with reluctance that I make a speech either here or elsewhere. I should not even now, amid the press of competition, have contested for the floor, or arisen for the purpose of addressing the committee, but for the extraordinary turn the debate has taken, the violent opposition the bill has met with, the rude assaults which has been made upon the measure, and the quarter from which the opposition has in part come, and the expectation which seems to be generally entertained, that I should defend this bill from these assaults, I having had the honor to report it to this House by the order of the Committee on Commerce.

A gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. PAYNE,) said in debate the other day that "one of his colleagues had yesterday characterized this bill in very strong terms, and had condemned it very earnestly. He, (Mr. PAYNE,) thought that character and that condemnation just." Now what was the character and condemnation which the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. PAYNE,) here so unqualifiedly endorses? Why, sir, because it is opposed to the principles "of common honesty and of justice;" because it is opposed "to common sense, common justice, and common right;" because it is "a flagrant and stupendous outrage;" because this bill, "from the beginning of Genesis to the terminus of Revelations, was the most indiscriminate bundle of plunder, robbery, log-rolling—disgraceful to American legislation—that had ever been presented to this House." And "that he so taught and indoctrinated his constituents, that they would not have a representative here who would be guilty of such an act of baseness as to vote for this bill."

Such is the language, Mr. Chairman, used in relation to a bill reported by one of the standing committees of this House, by one gentleman from the State of Alabama, and endorsed by another gentleman from the south of Mason's and Dixon's line; from the land whose chivalry is so much and



so often lauded on this floor. If such language, sir, had have proceeded from a gentleman from the north of Mason's and Dixon's line, I think the gentleman from Alabama would have pronounced it very discourteous and in very bad taste. What, then, must be considered of it as proceeding from a gentleman who comes from the sunny and chivalric South, courtesy being always considered an essential ingredient of chivalry? Such is the nature of the opposition which the gentleman makes to this bill, for the want of some sound argument to urge against it. But the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. PAYNE,) not satisfied with this, has found it necessary, because the bill does not appropriate, as he thinks, enough south of Mason's and Dixon's line, to impugn the patriotism of the members of the committee, and particularly of myself, who had the honor to report the bill. I do not come from a State, Mr. Chairman, whose citizens are in the habit of boasting of their patriotism; they leave that matter to the archives of the nation, to the history of the country. My patriotism, however, I thank God, is not bounded, though I live south of it, by Mason's and Dixon's line, a line which seems to present a barrier to all the political views of some gentlemen here. My friend from Ohio, (Mr. SAWYER,) the other day announced to the House the discovery of a new science, which is about to be propagated in this country, and which he says illustrates why it is that some gentlemen have but *one single idea* in their heads. He says that this science teaches "that a single drop of blood, by examining it with a microscope, was found to be composed of millions of *animalculæ*, and what those *animalculæ* are, in a particular individual, depends upon his peculiar temperament," from which my friend infers that a drop of the blood of his colleague, (Mr. GIDDINGS,) "held up and examined, would exhibit thousands and millions of great negroes standing up in battle array, warlike, and ferocious." Now, sir, if this science which my friend speaks of be true, I would suppose that if a drop of the blood of some other gentlemen in this House were subjected to this microcosmetical examination, it would be found to contain, in the form of *animalculæ*, thousands of negroes and abolitionists dancing hornpipes upon Mason's and Dixon's line. I reside near enough, sir, to Mason's and Dixon's line to be well acquainted with the people on the north side of it, and take occasion here to say that, in virtue, in integrity, in intelligence, in true courage and patriotism, in liberality, hospitality and courtesy, and all the virtues which constitute true chivalry, they will not suffer in comparison with the gentlemen from the south of Mason's and Dixon's line.

But the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. PAYNE,) is not satisfied with his general denunciations of the bill, or with endorsing the sentiments of his colleague, which denounces the stockholders in the Louisville Canal Company as "stockjobbers and individual plunderers, who are lying in wait at all the commercial points throughout our vast republic, to take advantage of the laboring classes," but he also gives to the stockholders in that company the additional appellation of "swindlers."

Here Mr. PAYNE rose and asked leave to explain, and disclaimed the intention of casting any imputation upon the integrity of the stockholders in the Louisville and Portland Canal.)

Mr. T. resumed. I am gratified, Mr. Chairman, to hear the explanation of the gentleman; he certainly used the term swindlers in connexion with the stockholders of that company; if he did not intend to attach any meaning to the term let it pass. I have expended more time in relation to these matters than I had intended.



There are very few appropriations contained in this bill which have not been recommended by the able Secretary of the War Department, in his report accompanying the President's message to the present Congress, and all of them have been subjected to the examination and received the sanction of the Topographical Bureau; so that the charge of "log-rolling," which has been so often repeated in this debate, has no foundation in truth. For myself, sir, I would utterly scorn myself if I could be influenced by mere local interests, or personal considerations, in giving or withholding my support of the various provisions of this bill. I have looked to it as a great national measure, of vast interest to the nation at large, and productive of great national benefits. Not one dollar of the appropriations proposed in this bill will be expended, as far as I know or believe, within the district which I have the honor to represent; the interest of myself and my constituents in this bill is that general interest which all ought to feel in the improvement of the navigation, opening the avenues of commerce, and completing the defences of the country. And, for the purpose of shielding the committee from a charge so unfounded, I will mention a fact, though it is not altogether in order. I will take the liberty of stating the fact that the only item which was referred to the committee in which the local interests of my constituents were immediately concerned, that of the improvement of the harbor at Cincinnati, was lost in the committee by the casting vote of the chairman. It is true, as is well known, that I have taken a special interest in urging upon the General Government the purchase of the residue of the interest held by individual stockholders in the Louisville and Portland Canal Company, but I do not reside within 150 miles of that canal, and my district does not reach within an hundred miles of it, and I have no constituent who is interested to the amount of a dollar in the stock of the company. I do not, however, intend to discuss that subject now, my time will not permit it. I intend to discuss the bill without regard to that appropriation. I believe that it will be taken out of the bill; many of my friends, who are in favor of the appropriation itself, desire that it may be taken out, as they fear that it might defeat the bill, and thus the other appropriations, which are of such vast importance, be lost to the country. Besides, there is some division of opinion, even among Western men, upon the subject of the proper mode of removing the obstructions at the falls of the Ohio; as this item, therefore, was put into the bill on my motion, under all the circumstances I should not be doing justice to my friends, or myself, or giving to the measure itself a fair chance, if I were to urge its retention in the bill. I have another bill upon the calendar of this committee, devoted specially to this work, which I will endeavor to bring to the consideration of the committee at the earliest practicable period, when, having no doubt that my friends will give me the opportunity, I will be ready to show the constitutionality and propriety of the measure.

I am not very much surprised, sir, that gentlemen from the South, who are not familiar with the great West, should be opposed to a measure for the improvement of its navigable waters. These gentlemen can have no idea of that part of the country. Their opposition proceeds as much perhaps from a want of knowledge as from any thing else. I am not, therefore, surprised at it. We of the West can readily forgive Southern gentlemen for opposition to western appropriations, because, in the language of the Scriptures, "*they know not what they do.*" They are not acquainted with the extent and value of the commerce of the West, nor with the dangers and difficulties it has to encounter and surmount. But, sir, I cannot



find words to express the surprise I felt at the opposition which was manifested against this bill in this House on yesterday by a Western member. I repeat, sir, I cannot express the astonishment which I felt that this bill should be opposed by a representative from the West, and that representative from the State of Illinois, a State almost surrounded by navigable waters, and perhaps more deeply interested in the provisions of this bill than any other State in the Union. That gentleman opposed this bill both on constitutional grounds and grounds of expediency. He certainly does not speak the sentiments of the Democracy of the West, nor do I believe he did of the Democracy of the State of Illinois, upon either the question of constitutionality or expediency.

Mr. McCLEARNAND here rose and inquired if the allusion was to him.

Mr. TIBBATTs answered that it was.

Mr. McCLEARNAND said that he was aware to what the gentleman from Kentucky had allusion, but that the gentleman from Kentucky did not understand the true state of the facts in relation to the matter he had reference to.

Mr. TIBBATTs replied that whether he did or not would appear from a paper he would now send to the clerk's table, with a request that he would read, for the information of the committee, the parts which were marked. The clerk then read certain extracts, (see Appendix 1,) from a document purporting to be an "Address to the people of Illinois, by the Democratic State Convention," lately held in that State, for the nomination of candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, in which address the convention approves of the whole of the recommendations of the late Memphis convention, asserts the constitutionality and expediency of appropriations for the objects contemplated by this bill, and more especially the importance, necessity, and justice of such appropriations to the improvement of the navigation of the Western waters.

Mr. McCLEARNAND here explained. He said he would do the gentleman from Kentucky the justice to say that he had apprised him, before he, (Mr. T.,) had obtained the floor, that he, (Mr. T.,) intended to use the address, from which the clerk had been reading, in answer to the position which he, (Mr. McCLEARNAND,) had taken in his argument upon this bill; but he, (Mr. McCLEARNAND,) denied that this document was the address of the Democratic Convention of Illinois, and declared it to be the production of an individual member of that convention, and as such entitled to no more weight than the opinions of any other single individual; that the address did not express the sentiments or opinions of the Illinois Convention, or of the Democratic party of that State. Mr. McCLEARNAND said his statement was made upon the authority of a letter which he held in his hand, by which this could be established, and that several highly respectable gentlemen were now in the city of Washington, one of whom was now in his eye, (Mr. McCLEARNAND here alluded to a gentleman who was sitting in the ladies' gallery,) who were prominent members of that convention, and by whom he was informed that the address had never been adopted. Mr. McCLEARNAND here read an extract from a newspaper, which he, Mr. McCLEARNAND, said expressed *ex cathedra* the doctrine of the Democratic party of the State of Illinois.

Mr. TIBBATTs here resumed. Mr. Chairman, the address which I sent a few moments ago to the clerk professes to be the address of the Democratic Convention of the State of Illinois. I find it in the Illinois State Register, "the official democratic State paper of Illinois, published at Springfield, on



the 6th of the present month." The editor of that paper states that it is the address of that convention, and that he presents the "address to the public as it *passed* the convention." (See Appendix 2.) Now, sir, whether this be the address of the convention or not is a question to be settled between the gentleman from Illinois and the member of the convention "in his eye," and the editor of the "Illinois State Register." The address certainly presents the sentiments of the great body of the Western Democracy, and the opinions entertained by the eminent men of that party throughout the Union, from the commencement of the Government to the present time; and in no way differs from the sentiment expressed in the extract which the gentleman has read, with which I fully concur.

This, Mr. Chairman, is a subject of great interest to the people of the West. There is no subject, sir, in the ordinary legislation of Congress in which the people of the West feel so deep and abiding an interest as in the objects of the appropriations contained in this bill. Gentlemen who do not reside in the West, who oppose the granting the appropriations which we ask in this bill, are but little acquainted with the vast extent and great fertility, the boundless resources, the immense productions of the Western country; with the navigable waters, with the commerce of the great valley of the Mississippi. It is but a few days ago when the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. RHETT,) in his speech upon the Oregon question, declared that the Western country had no commerce. I was surprised at this declaration, and astonished at the want of knowledge exhibited by him as to the commerce of the West—a commerce which is computed to exceed two hundred and thirty millions of dollars, which far exceeds the whole external commerce of the United States. We have a country, sir, exclusive of Texas, once dismembered, but now restored to the great valley of the Mississippi, extending from the 26th to the 47th degrees of north latitude, stretching from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, embracing more than 400,000 square miles of land, unsurpassed in fertility, and unequalled in its productions by any country on the habitable globe—a country intersected in every direction by rivers which afford more than 12,000 miles of navigable waters.

Bountiful as nature has been to us, something still is left us to contend with and surmount. Obstructions exist in our navigation which cannot be overcome by individual or State enterprise, and we must look to the National Government for the means. Such are the falls of the Ohio, and the rafts, and snags, and sawyers of the Mississippi and its tributaries; these not only constitute obstructions to our commerce, but our enterprising river men are in danger of their lives at every stroke of the piston or of the oar. Millions of property have been lost, and hundreds of lives have been sacrificed by the neglect of the General Government to make adequate appropriations for the removal of these obstructions and the construction of harbors on the western lakes. Scarcely a mail arrives in this city from the west which does not bring the news of some sad and melancholy disaster upon our lakes or our rivers—the very breezes which come over the Alleghanies seem to waft upon their bosoms the death shrieks of our hardy and enterprising navigators, as they sink and are buried in the waters of the lakes or of the Mississippi—and the wail of their widowed wives and orphan children accuse the rulers of the nation of being the murderers of their husbands and fathers, by neglecting to make the necessary appropriations.

We want liberal appropriations made for the removal of these obstructions—we desire to see these dangers abated—the navigation of our lakes



and rivers made safe and our commerce free. We ask of the General Government such appropriations as justly belong to our country, comprising as it does one-third of the population of the Union, which not only pays its proportion of the burden of taxation, but is constantly drained of its treasure by investment in the purchase of the public lands. We ask this, and not that our commerce shall be taxed as it is at the Louisville canal, where the investments made by the General Government has been returned more than a hundred fold into the coffers of the nation by a burdensome taxation upon our commerce—the only instance, I believe, of the kind in all the appropriations which have been made by the Government.

The objects for which we ask appropriations are of a national character, and interesting to the whole Union. I have never doubted the power of the National Government to make appropriations of money to objects of internal improvements of a national character, and I will not cease, whilst I have the honor of a seat in the councils of the nation, to urge upon the consideration of Congress the making of such appropriations, guarded at all times by a constitutional sanction. There is, in my opinion, no object to which Congress can appropriate money which can be of more utility than for removing the obstructions and increasing the facility and safety of our commerce, for the preservation of the property of our traders and merchants; for the saving of the lives of our mariners upon the seas and the lakes, and of the navigators of the rivers. To doubt a power so salutary, would seem to me to doubt the principle of self-preservation—a principle co-existent with man, and inherent in all Governments.

This power has never been doubted by any statesman of any distinction of the Democratic party, so far as my knowledge extends.

The people of the West have justly complained of the little attention which has been paid to the improvements of their navigable waters, and the comparatively small amounts of public money which have been expended for that purpose. I warn gentlemen who now consider them and their claims so little worthy of attention, that the time is not far distant when they will come here with the power of their representation and take that justice which has been so long denied to them.

The lake harbors are essential to the defence of the northwestern frontier, as much so as fortifications on the sea-board. The improvements of the rivers, particularly the western tributaries of the Mississippi, are in view of war measures as well as of commerce.

The rivers in this bill are great national highways—the sea-coast and harbors on the Atlantic are not common highways for the nation more than the Hudson river, and the great navigable rivers of the west, to which appropriations are proposed to be made by this bill. We do not object to the immense means which have been expended on the Atlantic sea-board—we only complain of the little attention which has been given, and the comparatively small appropriations which have been made, to the lakes and rivers of the West.

The gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. PAYNE,) remarked the other day that he never mentioned the Constitution to a representative from Kentucky but that he was answered with a smile. I do not know what meaning the honorable gentleman intended to give to the remark; or what he intended the committee should deduce from it; I would merely remark, however, to that gentleman, that the positions taken by himself and some others, of the constitutional powers of this Government over this subject, are so impracticable, and viewed in regard to the consequences to which



they would lead if followed out, are of so ludicrous a character that it can be counted no wonder that the representatives from Kentucky should smile when they are mentioned, and that it is owing solely to that courtesy which it is our habitual custom to practice towards gentlemen for whom we entertain a personal respect, however much we may differ from them as to their constitutional views, that we do not laugh outright.

I deny that the Democratic party has ever entertained such views as have been avowed by the gentlemen who have so strenuously opposed this bill, as to the power of the General Government to make appropriations for internal improvements of a national character. I not only deny this, but I challenge these gentlemen to name any one eminent statesman, an acknowledged leader, one having the confidence of the Democratic Party, such as their Presidents and Vice Presidents, or such as have been generally spoken of as candidates for either of those offices, who has ever avowed such a doctrine, or denied the existence of such a power in the General Government. So far from this being the case, this power has been distinctly and repeatedly avowed by such men as Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Van Buren, Johnson, Calhoun, (see Appendix, no. 3,) McDuffie, (see Appendix no. 4,) and many other eminent statesmen of the Democratic Party, from all sections of the Union. I rejoice that I have an opportunity here on this floor, on this occasion, to deny, to combat, and to refute the political heresies and ultraisms which have been made and heretofore asserted by the gentlemen opposed to this bill, as democratic doctrine, and which have been so often quoted upon us by our political opponents, to the incalculable damage of the Democratic Party, and mischief to the cause of true democratic and republican principles.

The objections urged by gentlemen to the passage of this bill, are contrary to the principles of the common sense and common reason of mankind; and if I mistake not, before I am done, I will show some of them to be contrary to the principles of common honesty between man and man, and a just administration of the Government towards the different portions of the Union.

Furthermore the principles urged by them, are against a plain, fair, and reasonable interpretation of the Constitution, and if carried out, would reduce it to an insignificant and useless blank piece of paper, and render the Government wholly inoperative. Besides, they are contradicted by the practical expositions of the Constitution, in the full exercise by Congress of the powers which they now deny, from the commencement of the Government to the present time, as well as being in direct opposition to the principles fully and distinctly avowed, asserted, and practiced upon by every eminent statesman of the Democratic party, who has been distinguished by the confidence of the people.

The argument which gentlemen attempt to draw from the abuse of this power which has heretofore taken place, and which was checked by Gen. Jackson, and of the possible abuse of the power hereafter, and the tendency of the exercise of it to corrupt combination, is entitled to no weight or consideration whatever, as a constitutional argument. There is no power in the Government which is not subject to the same objections. The abuse of a power is no argument against the proper and legitimate use of it, nor against the existence of the power.

It will be impossible for me, Mr. Chairman, to take any other than a very rapid view of the question of constitutional power, which has been so often brought up and denied on the one side, and asserted on the other, in



this debate. Gentlemen inquire where we will find the constitutional power to pass this bill? I think, sir, there will be no difficulty in finding it if we construe the Constitution upon the plain practical principles of common sense; and a constitution is a political instrument, made to govern the people who are governed by the practical principles of common sense, and it ought not to be construed upon any other. Before I attempt to find this power, however, I will premise that I do *not* find it in that clause of the 8th section of the Constitution, where the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. JONES,) thought he found the power "to *erect* forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards, and other needful buildings." This clause confers no power for the purpose of this bill, nor no such power as is supposed by the gentleman from Tennessee. This clause simply confers the power to "exercise exclusive legislation" over "places purchased" for those purposes. It presupposes the power to purchase such places, and to erect the forts, &c., thereon, to have been granted somewhere else, and the gentleman must look somewhere else for the power to purchase such places, and the power to erect forts thereon, unless he would indulge in the wildest kind of construction. If he will travel with me a little way in search of it, I think we will find the power to purchase such places, to erect forts, &c., thereon, and to make all the appropriations called for in this bill altogether, and at no great distance from the clause to which he referred.

By the first clause of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, it is provided that "the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises."

The Constitution thus confers upon Congress the power of raising revenue, without limit or restriction as to its exercise, except in the discretion of Congress, with a view to the purposes for which it is intended to be raised, under the responsibility of the representatives in Congress to their constituents. For what purposes does the Constitution confer this power? The same clause answers this question. "To pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and the general welfare," thus conferring upon Congress the power to appropriate the revenues of the Government, a power which is incidental to the power to raise revenue, and equally unlimited as to its exercise, with the view to the national objects for which it is raised; the power in each case is broad and unqualified. Gentlemen think that this is too indefinite, and would confer upon Congress an unlimited power to do any thing and every thing which Congress might suppose necessary "to provide for the common defence and general welfare." But the framers of the Constitution did not leave these general terms open to misconstruction. In the very same clause, in fact, sir, in the very same sentence, the objects to which these general terms allude are distinctly specified, and as definitely set forth as human intellect and ingenuity can do it in an instrument of that character; the check to the abuse of these powers is in the responsibility of the representative to his constituents. As connected with the objects of the appropriations proposed by the bill now under consideration, the section of the Constitution to which I have referred goes on to declare that Congress shall have power to "*regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;*" "*to establish post offices and post roads;*" "*to declare war;*" and "*to raise and support armies;*" which in fact is but a necessary incident to the power to declare war. "*To provide and maintain a navy;*" and lastly, "*to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers;*" a power inserted, I presume, from abundance of caution, and to prevent dis-



pute and misunderstanding, for this last is nothing more than a necessary result and unavoidable implication from the powers previously vested.

The power to regulate commerce includes, necessarily, the power to regulate navigation and trade. Commerce among the several States means commerce which concerns more States than one, whether between two adjoining States or between two States which may export or import through one or more other States. Congress has the power to remove obstructions, then, to navigation and commerce, whether with foreign nations, among the States, or with the Indian tribes. There is no difference in relation to these three kinds of commerce, as to the power of Congress; its power as to the one is the same as to the others, and no State has the power to obstruct the action of Congress in the exercise of this power, whether it is exercised in regard to the foreign commerce or the commerce among the States, or with the Indian tribes. Under this power Congress may pass laws in relation to pilotage, quarantine, and wrecks; lay embargoes, pass regulations for the government of hands and seamen on board of American vessels or boats, confer privileges to such vessels, whether in the domestic or foreign trade, establish ports of entry and delivery, construct light-houses, buoys, and beacons, piers, abutments, and breakwaters, on the ocean or on the lakes, for the security of navigation, and remove obstructions to navigation in our navigable rivers; of what use would this power to regulate commerce be, if you could not appropriate money to facilitate the commerce of the country and to secure the safety of navigation by erecting harbors on the lakes, sounds, and bays, and removing the obstructions in such great national thoroughfares of the commerce among the States as the Hudson, the Ohio, and the Mississippi; powers which have been actually exercised by this Government from its first establishment to the present day. It might be considered unnecessary to go any further in search of ample power to make all the appropriations contemplated by this bill. But this is not all.

Under the power "to establish post offices and post roads," Congress may make appropriations for renting offices where they are already built, or building offices where they are not. It may adopt State roads as post roads or post routes, where they have been already opened by the States, or appropriate money to open them where they have not been already opened, and to remove obstructions which may be in the way. It may and does adopt the rivers as post routes, and employ the owners of steamboats as mail carriers, and appropriate money for the removal of obstructions to that mode of conveyance, equally with that by land. Such powers of appropriation have been constantly exercised by this Government. Their exercise in no manner interferes with or supersedes the jurisdiction of the States. The roads and rivers are still within the territorial jurisdiction and sovereignty of the States, both civilly and criminally, subject to the right of travel, passage, and preservation, which the States cannot supersede or obstruct. Of what use, sir, would be the power to establish post roads or post routes, if you could not appropriate money to remove obstructions therein, whether by land or water?

Under the power to "declare war" and "raise and support armies," Congress may appropriate money for the purchase of sites and the erection of magazines, arsenals, and armories; for the building of forts and the making safe harbors on your lakes, which will answer, to a very great extent, in the place of forts, when you have provided vessels of war which may float safely in them; and Congress may appropriate money to put the armies of the nation in motion; to cut out military roads, to purchase wagons, and



to remove obstructions to their progress by land ; or to purchase or build or charter steamboats, that they may progress with the greater facility and celerity by means of your navigable rivers, and to remove obstructions which may impede their progress in that way. Of what use would be the power to raise and support armies, unless you could erect forts, magazines, armories, and arsenals ? Does the power to raise and support armies imply nothing more than the enrolling and enlisting the men, and providing them with food and clothing ? When your armies are raised and maintained, are they to stand still and idle ? Are they to be placed in the singular position in which the gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. PETTIT,) the other day left the honorable gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. RHETT,) when, in the course of his argument, he supposed him to be on an expedition to supply your soldiers with arms, with a wagon and team of Conastoga horses, loaded with guns, stopped in the public highway between your national armory and your fort, by a tree which had fallen across and obstructed the road, standing there without any constitutional power in Congress to appropriate money for the purchase of an axe to enable the honorable gentleman to cut his way through ? or, are your armies to move forward to the defence of your frontiers ? and, if so, have you no power to appropriate money to charter or build boats for their transportation ? to remove the snags and rafts which might endanger or impede their progress ? When your armies arrive at the rafts on the Arkansas, where you have two forts ; or on the Red River, where you have three ; are your soldiers to be disembarked and marched through the swamps around the rafts, or have you the power to appropriate money to purchase axes and such implements as may be necessary to cut their way through the obstructions, so that they can pass in their boats up those rivers ? If you have this power, which it seems to me no reasonable man will doubt, have you not also the power to make those appropriations in anticipation of such necessities ? There is no difference, sir, except that the latter would be the wiser exercise of the power ; the surest way of avoiding the difficulty of war, and war itself, is to make preparations for it in times of peace ?

Under the power "to provide and maintain a navy," we also have power to appropriate money to erect hospitals, light houses, bouys, beacons, piers, rope walks, dock yards, and harbors, either on the seas or on the lakes, and to remove obstructions to the entrance of harbors, and to give refuge, and ensure a safe protection to our navy when lying in them. It matters not whether those harbors are on the tide waters of the salt seas, or on the fresh waters of our northern lakes, for the lakes are as much external, and have as much relation to our foreign commerce and our navy, as the ocean itself. How crippled would be your commerce with foreign nations, if you had no harbors for the protection of your merchantmen and steamers ? How useless would be the power to provide and maintain a navy, if you could not make appropriations for the objects which I have specified ?

Then, sir, I find, under the several clauses of the eighth section of the Constitution, ample power to improve harbors upon the sea-board and upon the lakes, and to remove obstructions to the navigation of the rivers embraced by this bill. Such seems to me to be a common sense and practical construction of the clauses of the Constitution to which I have referred, and such a common sense construction will be given to them by every practical man in the nation.

But, gentlemen ask, in what does this construction differ from that of the Federalists, and the supporters of a general system of Internal Improve-



ment? I will tell them, sir. The difference is a very clear one. I have named first the power to raise revenue, which is unlimited; secondly, the power to appropriate that money to objects of a national character. There is a third power connected with these, *the power to carry the appropriation into effect*, by applying the money appropriated to the object for which the appropriation was made, and this third power is to be viewed in two aspects: *first, where it is simply an appropriation*, leaving the jurisdiction in the States where the contemplated improvement lies; *and, secondly, where it assumes jurisdiction in the National Government*, as, in a road or canal, to erect gates and charge toll, &c.

Now, sir, the Federal party, or the party in favor of a general system of internal improvements, by whatever name you may designate them, assume in the General Government every and all of these powers. We deny some of them. We contend that the Government has no power to make such appropriations unless the object be national and not State—general and not local. They contend for the contrary. We contend that Congress can carry the appropriation into effect, where the jurisdiction over the subject is left with the States; but, that Congress cannot do so where it is necessary to assume jurisdiction in the General Government so as to charge toll, &c. They contend for the contrary. These distinctions are clearly taken by Mr. Monroe and General Jackson, as I will presently show.

These distinctions were broken down and overrode under the administration of Mr. J. Q. Adams, in the attempt then made to establish "*a general system of internal improvements*." It was this *system* which was hurrying the country into ruin by enormous wasteful and extravagant expenditures, and infringing upon the powers and sovereignty of the States, which was put down by the Democratic party during the administration of General Jackson. It is this system which is condemned by the Baltimore Convention, when they declare that "the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements."

In that declaration, such appropriations as are contained in this bill were not contemplated. Nor were the appropriations proposed by this bill such as were vetoed by General Jackson, for we find that he and Mr. Van Buren signed bills making appropriations to all of the objects of improvement contemplated by this bill.

For improving the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, in 1829, 1830, 1831, 1837, and 1838.

For improving the navigation of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers, in 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1838.

For improving the navigation of the Mississippi river above the mouth of the Ohio and the Missouri river, in 1836, 1837, and 1838.

For improving the navigation of the Arkansas river, in 1832, 1835, 1837, and 1838.

For improving the navigation of the Ohio river, above the falls of the Ohio, in 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1838.

For improving the navigation of the Hudson river, above and below Albany, in the State of New York, in 1834, 1836, 1837, and 1838.

For improving the navigation of the Red river, Louisiana, in 1832, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1838.

For improving the navigation of the Savannah river, Georgia, in 1832, 1834, 1835, and 1836.

For harbors on the seas and on the lakes in every year of the eight years



of General Jackson's administration, and in 1837 and 1838 of Mr. Van Buren's.

And yet, in the face of these facts, gentlemen are found bold enough to declare that the appropriations contained in this bill are unconstitutional and embraced by the Maysville veto, and is that system of internal improvements which was strangled and crushed by General Jackson, and condemned by the Baltimore Convention, when the legislative history of the nation shows that General Jackson signed bills making these appropriations at every session of Congress during his administration.

Equally are the opinions expressed by the opponents of this bill, opposed to those practical expositions of the meaning of the Constitution, to be found in the action of Congress in regard to such appropriations as those proposed by this bill. Congress, as early as 1789, (see Appendix, No. 5,) passed an act which shows very definitively what were the opinions of that body, (many of whose members were of those who had composed the convention by which the Constitution was formed,) in relation to so much of this bill as proposes appropriations for Atlantic harbors, and from that day to this such appropriations have been constantly made, year after year and time after time. (See Appendix, No. 6.)

I have already shown the legislative history of this matter, as regards the rivers in this bill. (See Appendix, No. 7.) The action of Congress and of the Executive, during the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren, is equally conclusive as to the lake harbors. (See Appendix, No. 8.) We thus find that the Government has, by a long line of legislative action, from the commencement of its existence to the present day, uninterrupted by any doubt of the existence of the power to make the appropriations in this bill, always asserted and exercised this power, and has, in the exercise of it, appropriated vast sums of money. The power to make these appropriations has never been doubted by statesmen of eminence, to whom the Democratic party have ever looked as true exponents of the doctrines of that party, and I challenge and defy the gentlemen who have opposed this bill to name one single man of eminence of the Democratic party, I mean such men as have been elected or talked of by that party as President or Vice President, who has ever avowed such opinions as those gentlemen have in opposition to this bill.

I have already shown what was the opinion of General Washington, who signed the bill of 1787.

Mr. Jefferson not only signed bills making large appropriations to the Cumberland road, but also recommended that a reconnoissance and survey should be made for a national road from Washington to New Orleans.

Mr. Madison, in his special message in 1811, communicating to Congress copies of the act of the legislature of New York, in relation to a canal to connect the Hudson river with the lakes, expresses himself in very decided language in favour of the utility of canal navigation; the peculiar adaptation of our country to improvements of that character; the importance of a system of internal communication and conveyance for the general necessity, and recommends the same to the consideration of Congress. (See Appendix, No. 9.)

Mr. Madison, it is true, in his seventh annual message, suggests that "any defect of constitutional authority which may be encountered can be supplied in a manner which the Constitution itself has providently pointed out." (See Appendix No. 10.) This suggestion is not made by him as entertaining any doubts upon this subject himself, but, in reference to the



doubts entertained by others; he stood fully committed in favor of appropriations by the General Government for the construction of new roads and navigable canals, and the improvement of the navigation of navigable rivers, requiring a national jurisdiction and national means.

Mr. Monroe was fully alive to the national adaptation of our country to improvements of this character, and their importance in shortening distances and binding the Union more closely together, and makes no doubt in his inaugural address of the power of Congress to make appropriations for that purpose. (See Appendix No. 11.)

Mr. Monroe, in his first annual message in 1817, expresses a change of opinion, and qualifies his opinions formerly expressed in relation to the power of Congress to *apply appropriations to the construction of roads and canals*. It is in this message he first draws the distinction to which I have already adverted, in which he denies that Congress has the *power to apply appropriations to the construction of roads and canals, where Congress should at the same time assume jurisdiction*, so as to erect gates, charge tolls, &c. But he did not then, nor did he ever afterwards, deny to Congress the power to make appropriations even for the construction of roads and canals of a national and not local character, *the jurisdiction remaining in the States*; on the contrary, in his seventh annual message, 2d December, 1823, he expressly recommends appropriations in aid of the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and an examination of the several routes through which the waters of the Ohio may be connected with Lake Erie, and distinctly declares it as his opinion "that Congress possesses the right to appropriate money for such a national object" as the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, "the jurisdiction remaining to the States through which the canal would pass." And, in furtherance of the idea by him previously expressed, that Congress did not possess the power to carry such appropriations into effect by assuming jurisdiction and charging toll, and as Congress had not thought it expedient to recommend to the States an amendment to the Constitution for the purpose of vesting in Congress such a power, he recommended that Congress should vest the Executive with the power to enter into arrangements with the States, through which the Cumberland road should pass, to establish tolls, &c., to defray the expense of repairs, and to protect the work against injuries. (See Appendix No. 12.)

In his special message of the 4th May, 1822, Mr. Monroe asserts that a power in the General Government "to establish turnpikes with gates, tolls, &c., involved a complete right of jurisdiction and sovereignty for all the purposes of internal improvement, and not merely the right of applying money under the power vested in Congress to make appropriations." The former power he denies to exist in the General Government; the latter power he fully admits and recognises. And in his eighth annual message, 7th December, 1824, he reverts with approbation to the appropriations which had been made at the preceding session of Congress "*for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi and the Ohio, of the harbor of Presque'isle, on Lake Erie, and the repair of the Plymouth beach*;" which embraced all the classes and objects of appropriation proposed by this bill, viz: Sea harbors, lake harbors, and navigable rivers. (See Appendix No. 13.)

It was during the administration of Mr. J. Q. Adams that Congress made appropriations for the purpose of establishing an internal improvement system, which assumed an unqualified power in the General Government not only to make appropriations to works of improvement



national, but of a local character also, and likewise overturned the distinction and limitation which had been taken by Mr. Monroe, and arrogated to Congress the power to carry those appropriations into effect, by assuming in the General Government the jurisdiction and sovereignty over the subject matter of the improvement. It was this usurpation of power by Congress, this invasion of the sovereignty of the States, this disregard of the character of the work, whether national or local, which constituted the general system of internal improvements, which, after it had progressed to an alarming extent, and was sowing corruption in the councils of the nation, and disease in the body politic, was condemned by the Democratic party, and strangled and crushed by General Jackson. General Jackson, in his first annual message, 4th March, 1829, to avoid difficulties which might arise from the differences of opinion and conflicting interests in regard to internal improvements, simply recommends a division of the surplus revenue among the States, but does not himself express any doubt of the power of Congress to make such appropriations as are proposed in this bill. (See Appendix No. 14.) On the contrary, at that very session he urged bills making such appropriations.

General Jackson, in his veto message on the Maysville Road Bill, May 27th, 1830, which caused so much excitement at the time, and which has been so often alluded to in this debate by gentlemen opposed to this bill, asserts no such doctrine as that which those gentlemen contend for. (See Appendix No. 15.) On the contrary, he clearly takes the distinctions which had previously been taken by Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe. He denies, as they had done, the power to exist in the General Government to promote works of internal improvement within the States, if jurisdiction of the territory which they may occupy shall be claimed as necessary to their preservation and use. But he admits distinctly and clearly that *the right of appropriation is not limited by the power to carry into effect the measure for which the money is asked; and that, as Congress has an unlimited power to raise money, it has in its appropriation a discretionary power, restricted only by the duty to appropriate it to purposes of common defence and of general, not local, national and not State benefit.* In accordance with these principles he vetoed the Maysville road bill, because, to use his own words, he was "*not able to view it in any other light than as a measure of purely local character.*"

With his sixth annual message, 2d December, 1834, General Jackson returned the bill making appropriations for the improvement of the Wabash river. His objections to that appropriation were purely upon the ground of its inexpediency. In that message he does not change, in the slightest degree, the positions he had previously taken; on the contrary, he re-asserts the general principles which had been previously defined by himself, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Monroe, and *particularly admits the power of making appropriations for the erection of light-houses, the placing, planting, and sinking of buoys, beacons, and piers, and the removal of partial and temporary obstructions in our navigable rivers, and the harbors upon our great lakes, as well as on the seaboard; which is all the power claimed by the appropriations in this bill, the objects of which are improvements which* General Jackson, in his remarks upon the Wabash appropriation says, "*always been regarded as standing upon different grounds from*" the Maysville road, the subscription of stock in companies, and for the construction of roads by the General Government. (See Appen-



And yet a little coterie of gentlemen on this floor, who, however respectable they may be for their talents, in number do not amount to more than a corporal's guard, compared to the Democratic party, have the boldness to get up here and denounce this bill as a violation of the Constitution; brand those of us who support it as federalists, and attempt to read us out of the Democratic party. Why, sir, this is ridiculous; perfectly ridiculous, sir.

If, sir, the co-temporaneous exposition of the Constitution to be derived from the acts and opinions of those who framed it;—if the uniform and progressive action of the Government in its legislative and executive departments;—if the uniform opinions of eminent statesmen of the Democratic party, from all parts and sections of this Union, from the earliest history of our Government to the present time, can have any weight in settling a construction of the Constitution in relation to any particular power, can any evidence more conclusive be furnished in relation to the existence of any power exercised by this Government than the legislative and executive history of this nation furnishes as to the power to make appropriations for the objects contemplated in this bill? A power so salutary and so sanctioned will never be surrendered by the people of the West.

Under the powers to which I have referred, the Government has made large appropriations and expenditures, as will appear by the tables which I have before me:

To lighthouses, \$7,216,122 01, up to 1841 inclusive, (see Appendix No. 17.

To fortifications, \$23,859,282 77, up to 1845 inclusive, (see Appendix No. 18.)

To Atlantic and Gulf harbors, \$4 678,178 86, to January, 1846.

To Lake harbors, \$2,861,964 39, to 1845 inclusive.

To rivers, \$2,753,800 to 1844 inclusive.

Of these appropriations but small proportions have been expended in the the West. They have been expended on the sea board, together with immense means, year after year, for keeping up these fortifications, lighthouses, &c. &c. besides millions on millions annually for the support of of the navy, whilst year after year you have drained the people of the West of millions upon millions, as the table before me shows, now amounting to \$125,248,730 63, up to 1843 inclusive, (see Appendix No. 19.) for the purchase of the public lands; and the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. COBB,) and other gentlemen, from Virginia, and from east of the mountains, cry out that it is a system of robbery and plunder and scrambling for public money, when a representative from the West asks for a most moderate appropriation for clearing obstructions and removing the dangers of western navigation.

(Some gentleman here interrupted Mr. T. and asked who gave those lands to the Government? Did not Virginia do it? Another asked did not Massachusetts do it?) Mr. T. resumed:

Who gave those lands to the Government? Do gentlemen ask this question? Was it not Virginia and Massachusetts, am I asked? I say no sir: neither Virginia nor Massachusetts gave them; neither Virginia nor Massachusetts had them to give. I will tell gentlemen who gave them. They were given to Government by the valor of the hardy adventurers who crossed the mountains, and entered the forests of the mighty West. Great Britain and her savage allies held on to the western country, in violation of the treaty of peace of 1783, and this country never got them again until they were won, and the British and Indians forced to give them up by the



valor of the brave pioneer, who first settled that country; a service for which they have never been requited by the Government; and gentlemen here yet talk of justice! I have introduced a bill, sir, at this session in relation to that matter; a bill to pension the few officers and soldiers of the Indian wars, who by their valor won that vast country, and who yet remain this side of the grave; and will, at some day of the present session, give gentlemen an opportunity of displaying their sense of justice.

But, sir, I have been led to digress from the subject immediately under consideration. But who is it who are, in fact, urging upon Congress a system of robbery, plunder, and scrambling for the public money, but these gentlemen themselves. The committee have reported a bill proposing an economical expenditure of public money to objects of great national importance, which have been duly examined, reliable estimates made upon them, and recommended by the War Department, and the committee have acted upon these measures without reference to the particular section of country in which they may be located, having been influenced by considerations of propriety alone; and these gentlemen who cry out "robbery and plunder," complain that the bill does not appropriate as much money in one section of the Union as it does in another, without regard to the consideration whether there are or are not objects in that other section to which such appropriations can be either properly or constitutionally made—they urge upon the committee an indiscriminate *division* of the public money among the different sections of the country, and thus are themselves the advocates of that very system of robbery and plunder, which they so unjustly charge upon others.

I have shown, I think, that the principles assumed by gentlemen who oppose this bill are at variance with a plain, common sense, and practical exposition of the Constitution, and contradicted by the legislative exposition which has been given by the practice of the government from its first existence to the present time, and that their opinions are in opposition to those of all the patriots and statesmen of any eminence of the Democratic party.

The gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. RHETT,) said the other day: "The South has asked for nothing;" and yet these gentlemen from the South complain of injustice, and say that the interests of the South are neglected in the appropriations made by this bill; they oppose all the appropriations for these purposes, when they are offered to them, with all their power and strength. If the representatives from the South do not present to Congress the wants of their constituents, and have them referred to the proper committees, the people of the South cannot complain of the committees; these gentlemen know that the committees have no right to report appropriations for objects which are not referred to their consideration by the House. If the South sends impracticable men here, who will not send their matters to the committees, and the committees are thus prevented from examining and reporting upon such matters as affect the interests of the people of the South, and those interests are therefore neglected, the only remedy, sir, for this evil, as far as I can see, is for the people of the South to send representatives here who are practical men, who have practical views of things, and who will present the claims and interests of their constituents to the committees in a practical manner.

The gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. RHETT,) tells you that the South "does not aid in the overthrow of the Constitution. She is not accused the murder of a great principle of the Republican party, perpetuated by its ancient enemies, but by its professed friends, and instead



of rioting over the dead, will follow the hearse as a mourner to its last home." Sir, this remark of the gentleman, though it may be entitled to some commendation as a figure of rhetoric and a flight of fancy, has no weight as a constitutional argument. The constitution of the gentlemen from the South, who have participated in this debate, is not the constitution of the country, nor the constitution as it is interpreted by the Democratic party. The constitution of which they speak, is the creature of their own brain; it is a poor rickety, sickly, nerveless thing, and the sooner such a monster of deformity dies and is buried in the grave, out of sight, the better for it, and the less pomp and circumstance and ceremony and show of grief there is made over its funeral obsequies, the less disgrace it will bring upon its parentage. I am gratified, Mr. Chairman, that the new rule which has been adopted by this House, will prevent the enemies of this measure from overloading the bill with improper and obnoxious amendments, as has been the practice heretofore.

Here Mr. T. was arrested by the expiration of his hour, and he took his seat, although he had much more to say upon the subject.

Mr. COCKE, of Tennessee, obtained the floor, and yielded, at the request of G. S. HOUSTON, of Alabama, who, in reference to the declaration of Mr. TIBBATS, that the South had asked for nothing, inquired of the gentleman if the Tennessee river was not before that committee, and presented to them by resolutions, previous to the reporting of the bill.

Mr. TIBBATS replied that the gentleman misinterpreted entirely what he said. He said that the gentleman from South Carolina had said that the South asked for nothing. The Tennessee river was presented to that committee, but no information was presented to them in relation to it. He did not blame the gentleman from Tennessee for it, because the information was not obtained from the Executive Department until this morning. Another reason why the committee had not included it was, that it travelled one step beyond the scope that the committee had marked out for itself. They had appropriated only for the Hudson and the Mississippi, and its main tributaries. The Tennessee was but the tributary of a tributary, which class embraced a large number of rivers to which appropriations might be advantageous, but to which the committee did not deem it advisable or politic at this time to extend appropriations, but had confined themselves to appropriations to those rivers alone where there could be no doubt of both the constitutional power and the expediency of making the appropriations, and as would come within an economical system of appropriations.

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## APPENDIX.

### No. 1.—*Extracts from the Address of the Democratic State Convention to the people of Illinois, 1846.*

The recent convention held at Memphis, in which fifteen great States, including Illinois, were represented, over which that distinguished statesman, John C. Calhoun presided, was the most important event for the prosperity of the West that has transpired since the battle of New Orleans. In this convention, which was composed of five hundred intelligent men, the neglected commerce of the West was recommended to the notice of the general government, and the great rivers, the lakes, and a ship channel between them, were considered prominent objects of national concern. Some of the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by that body, well deserve repeating here.



It was "Resolved, That a safe communication between the Gulf of Mexico and the interior, afforded by the navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and their principal tributaries, is indispensable to the defence of the country in time of war, and essential also to its commerce." "That the improvement and preservation of the navigation of those great rivers are objects as strictly national as any other preparation for the defence of the country, and that such improvements are deemed by this convention impracticable by the States or by individual enterprise, and call for appropriations of money for the same by the general government." "That the deepening of the mouth of the Mississippi so as to pass ships of the largest class, cost what it may, is a work worthy of the nation, and would greatly promote the general prosperity." "That the project of connecting the Mississippi river with the lakes of the North by a ship canal, and thus with the Atlantic ocean, is a measure worthy of the enlightened consideration of Congress." "That the gulf and lake coasts are greater in extent than the Atlantic sea board, that the interests to be defended in one quarter, are quite as important and altogether as national as those in the other; and that the expenditures required for the proper defence of the gulfs and lakes will fall far short of what has been freely voted for the coast defences of the Atlantic."

Here is a declaration from an intelligent body of men convened from every part of the great Mississippi valley, proclaiming the right to a share of the national disbursements for the encouragement and protection of western commerce. This declaration may have no effect in establishing a fact which is too apparent to require confirmation, but it shows that a just apprehension of this important subject universally prevails, and that no difficulty will be found in arousing the strength of the West to any combined action which may be necessary to accomplish it.

The commerce of the western waters exceeds in value the whole foreign commerce of the United States, and no good reason can be assigned why the same protection should not be yielded to both; yet, whilst millions of dollars are annually appropriated to the benefit of the Atlantic trade, the West gets comparatively nothing. It is not only the injustice which we suffer from our neglected commerce, that demands redress. The disbursement of nearly all the whole funds which are poured into the national treasury from every part of the Union are made within the Atlantic States alone, whilst the West is drained of its money and gets no return. This circumstance is enough of itself to keep our pockets dry and deprive us of the currency needed for the common transactions of trade; and aggravates most essentially the injustice we suffer from the inexcusable neglect of our common rights. Is it not apparent that a commerce which is of such immense value to the nation, whilst it is the life of the West, requires that the works recommended by the Memphis convention should be accomplished without delay? We ask that suitable appropriations should be made for these objects, and we claim it not as a favor, but a right. We are equal in population to the Atlantic States; we contribute as much to the national revenue; and protection and reasonable facilities are no less necessary for western commerce than for that of the maritime border. Illinois is so situated as to be immediately benefitted by every important work that is recommended by the convention. \* \* \* \*

The inconsistency of any objection to our claims upon constitutional grounds can scarcely fail to strike every fair mind with peculiar force. The aid required for our commerce is allowed on all hands to be necessary. The works proposed are of general interest and of nearly equal importance to all the great States of the West, and essential to national prosperity. Individuals cannot accomplish them, nor can individual States. The work can only be accomplished by a combination of the States. The grand design of the confederacy was to promote objects of the general welfare which could not be accomplished by single States. How then can we avoid the conclusion that this demand upon the general government is just and indispensable? Will our eastern friends tell us how they are able to smother their constitutional scruples in voting appropriations for the fishing interest, for light houses, for pensioners under the bounty of government, for foreign intercourse, and for the navy. Is all this expense incurred for the purpose of enabling us to wage war with more effect, to protect our citizens upon their farms, or in their domicils. Are the light-houses which illuminate the whole length of the Atlantic coast, and many of the rivers leading into the interior, placed there for warlike defence; or have they been erected for the benefit of the maritime commerce? Is the navy which is scattered through every sea of the globe, sent abroad to defend us from warlike attack, or is it to protect, extend, and facilitate foreign commerce? Of what use is one important department of our executive government, the navy—of what use is that department at this time, or what practical benefit has it yielded to the nation for the last thirty years, but in providing



for the safety and general welfare of our commercial interests? This is the principal duty of that important department in time of peace, or it might well be abolished; since peace has prevailed nearly sixty years out of sixty-three that have transpired since the close of the revolutionary war.

It should be remembered that we ask for no appropriation unless for works that are strictly national in their character. If we are met with an objection that has been urged against any system of internal improvement by the nation, let us beg those who would condemn every appropriation for objects to which this term "internal" may be applied, to show us what change in the Constitution forbids Congress to accomplish any work, or to effect any object that is required by the national welfare, because it is called for in the heart of the nation, and not upon the Atlantic coast or high seas. General Jackson vetoed the Maysville Road Bill, and in so doing performed a constitutional duty. Does it follow because he would not permit an improper bill for internal improvement to pass, that every measure partaking of that character, whether right or wrong should be condemned? Congress must use their discretion upon this, as upon all other subjects of national legislation. And with what propriety can it be demanded that they shall refuse justice to all, lest they may inconsiderately fall into the habit of bestowing the public money on improper objects.

Shall we believe that Congress can still turn a deaf ear to the suffering interests of western commerce, if the whole delegation from the Mississippi Valley prove diligent and faithful to their constituents? Should we however be for the present disappointed in our just expectations, the peculiar and commanding situation of Illinois in relation to the great interests of western commerce, demands that she should be foremost in pressing this subject upon the immediate attention of Congress, and in asking for the co-operation of her sister States, so far as such co-operation may be required. Should all other means fail, we can then take into deliberate consideration the propriety of demanding from Congress, in the manner pointed out by the Constitution, a permission to associate with us, any or every other State, that may be disposed to unite for the purpose of effecting, by combined action, those necessary and indispensable aids to our suffering commerce, which no single State is able to accomplish unaided and alone.

But Congress would scarcely remain dormant, and allow itself, or any portion of the States, to be placed in so unwelcome a dilemma. Let us do our duty in recommending this important subject to national attention, respectfully, but urgently, and there is no reason to apprehend a disappointment. The right and the latent strength are on our side, and the best policy and interest of the whole nation is with us also.

*No. 2.—Remarks of the Editor of the Illinois State Register in relation to the Address of the Democratic State Convention, 1846.*

We publish this week the Address of the late Democratic Convention; which ought to have appeared in our last, along with the official account of the proceedings. The Address, however, was detained in the hands of the central committee for the purpose of revising it, under the impression that the convention had adopted a resolution conferring that power on the committee. Upon examining the proceedings, however, as officially published, no such resolution appears to have been adopted. And as no member of the central committee was ever furnished by the Secretaries of the convention with a copy of any such resolution, the committee are left to infer that they have no power to revise the Address. In this opinion, the members of the committee, now in this city, unanimously concur; and present the Address to the public as it passed the convention.

*No. 3.—Extracts from the "Address of Mr. Calhoun, on taking the chair of the South-Western Convention at Memphis, November 13, 1845."*

With these remarks, I begin with asking, How far the aid of the General Government can be invoked to the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi and its great navigable tributaries? And here let me premise, that the invention of Fulton has in reality, for all practical purposes, converted the Mississippi, with its great tributaries, into an inland sea. (Applause.) Regarding it as such, I am prepared to place it on the same footing with the Gulf and Atlantic coast, the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, and the Lakes, in reference to the superintendence of the General Government over its navigation. It is manifest that it is far beyond the power of individuals or of separate States to supervise it, as there are eighteen States, including Texas and the Territories—more than half the Union—which lie within the valley of the Mississippi or border on its navigable tributaries.

But, gentlemen, while I am in favor of placing its navigation and that of its great navigable tributaries under the supervision of the General Government, I am utterly op-



posed to extending its supervision beyond the limits the grounds on which I have placed it would carry it. \* \* \*

As to the measures necessary to keep open at all times a coasting voyage between the Gulf and the Atlantic, there is no one who will question the constitutional competency of Congress to adopt them, and I accordingly pass them over without further remark. \* \* \*

I come now to the question, How far the aid of the General Government may be invoked to execute the system of proposed railroads between the Mississippi and its tributaries and the Southern Atlantic ports? And here I must premise, that, according to my opinion, the General Government has no right to appropriate money except to carry into execution its delegated powers, and that I do not regard the system of railroads or internal improvements as comprehended under them; but it may still be in its power to do something directly in aid of their execution where the roads pass through lands belonging to the United States. I do not doubt the right of the Government, regarded in the light of a proprietor, to grant lands in aid of such improvements when they are calculated to enhance their value; and have accordingly never hesitated as a member of Congress to vote in favor of acts granting alternate sections to railroads or canals under such circumstances. Acting on that principle, I cheerfully, as President of the Senate, gave the casting vote in favor of an act granting alternate sections to the canal intended to connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi through the Illinois river.

No. 4.—*Extract from a letter of Mr. McDuffie, dated March 5, 1828. (See Niles's Register, vol. 43, p. 26.)*

My remarks in relation to the continuance of the Cumberland road had reference to a proposition to extend it beyond Zanesville, by act of the present session. I have always conceded that the road was a prominent part of a national system of internal improvements, and have only contended that we ought to wait until the surveys are completed, and the leading roads and canals determined upon, before we carry the execution of any part of it beyond the extent to which the contracts are now made.

In a word, the Cumberland road, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the canal connecting Pittsburg with the lakes, the line of inland navigation from New Orleans around the coast, through the neck of Florida, and thence to the entrance north, and finally the post road from Washington to New Orleans, are the principal national works which I have always regarded as entitled to the patronage of Congress. And I am prepared to carry them on, *pari passu*, as soon as our financial resources will enable us to do it.

I think the Southern and Western States are the national advocates of a system of internal improvements; and I regret that the constitutional scruples of a portion of the Southern people, should prevent a hearty co-operation. This is the only form in which the Southern States can be indemnified for the tax levied upon them to sustain the manufactures of the Eastern States.

*Appendix No. 5 — AN ACT for the establishment and support of light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all the expenses which shall accrue from and after the 15th day of August, 1789, in the necessary support, maintainance and repairs, of all light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, erected, placed, or sunk, before the passing of this act, at the entrance of, or within, any bay, inlet, harbor, or port of the United States, for rendering the navigation thereof easy and safe, shall be defrayed out of the treasury of the United States: Provided nevertheless, That none of the said expenses shall continue to be so defrayed by the United States, after the expiration of*

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to provide by contracts, which shall be approved by the President of the United States, for building a light house near the entrance of the Chesapeake bay, and for rebuilding, when necessary, and keeping in good repair, the light houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, in the several States, and for furnishing the same with all necessary supplies; and also, to agree for the salary, wages, or hire, of the person or persons appointed by the President for the superintendence and care of the same.*

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted, That all pilots in the bays, inlets, rivers, harbors, and ports, of the United States, shall continue to be regulated in conformity with the existing laws of the States respectively, wherein such pilots may be, or with such laws as the States may respectively hereafter enact for the purpose, until further legislative provision shall be made by Congress. APPROVED, August 7, 1789.*



one year from the day aforesaid, unless such light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, shall in the meantime be ceded to, and vested in the United States, by the State or States respectively in which the same may be, together with the lands and tenements thereunto belonging, and together with the jurisdiction of the same.

SEC. 2. *An: be it further enacted,* That a light-house shall be erected near the entrance of the Chesapeake bay, at such place, when ceded to the United States in manner aforesaid, as the President of the United States shall direct

No. 6.—*Statement showing the amounts appropriated and expended for various harbor works upon the Atlantic coast and the Gulf of Mexico up to 1st January, 1846.*

Designation of work.	Amount appropriated
Removing obstructions in the Kennebeck river, at Lovejoy's narrow, Maine.....	\$15,100 00
Erecting piers, and removing obstructions at and near the harbor of Sacao, Me.....	12,000 00
Removing obstructions in the Burwick branch of the Piscataqua river, Me.....	8,250 00
Building a pier at Steele's ledge, in the harbor of Belfast, Me.....	5,800 00
Building a breakwater at Stanford ledge, Portland harbor, Me.....	60,817 31
Building a pier at the entrance of Kennebunk river, Me.....	28,800 00
Deepening the channel of the Cochico branch of Piscataqua river, N. Hampshire....	10,000 00
Preservation of Bamsford Island, Massachusetts.....	15,000 00
Preservation of Deer Island, Massachusetts.....	159,390 00
Extending pier at Edgartown, Massachusetts.....	3,725 00
Improving the harbor of Nantucket, Massachusetts.....	44,265 00
Construction of a breakwater at Sandy Bay, Massachusetts.....	50,000 00
Construction of a breakwater at the mouth of Merrimac river, Massachusetts.....	57,795 50
Preservation of the point of land leading to the fort and light at the Gurnet, in Duxbury, Massachusetts.....	5,000 00
Preservation of Plymouth Beach, Massachusetts.....	52,226 90
Preservation of the harbor of Provincetown, Massachusetts.....	27,850 00
Improving the harbor at the mouth of Bass river, Massachusetts.....	20,000 41
Breakwater at Hyannis harbor, Massachusetts.....	70,931 82
Improving the harbor of New Bedford, Massachusetts.....	10,000 00
Erecting a pier and beacon thereon at Allen's Rock, in Warren river, R. Island.....	4,000 00
Breakwater at Church's Cove, Rhode Island.....	28,000 00
Removal of a light-house on Goat Island, Rhode Island.....	54,700 00
Erecting piers at Stonington harbor, Connecticut.....	36,753 83
Construction of a beacon at Black Rock, Connecticut.....	4,873 49
Deepening the channel at Thames river, Connecticut.....	40,000 00
Improving the harbor of Saybrook, Connecticut.....	23,471 57
Deepening the channel of Bridgeport harbor, Connecticut.....	10,000 00
Seawall for the preservation of Fairweather island, Connecticut.....	23,750 00
Securing the public works at Southport, or Mill river, Connecticut.....	13,087 43
Improving the harbor at Westport, Connecticut.....	11,516 00
Building an ice-breaker on Staten Island, New York.....	19,500 00
Improvement of the navigation of the Hudson river, New York.....	320,000 00
Improvement of the harbor of New Brunswick, New Jersey.....	13,963 00
Improvement of Little Egg Harbor, New Jersey.....	15,000 00
Improvement of the harbors of Chester, Newcastle, Marcus Hook, Port Penn, and Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania.....	126,265 23
Construction of a light-house on Brandywine Shoal, Delaware Bay, Delaware.....	35,448 00
Improvement of the harbor of Wilmington, Delaware.....	29,944 78
Delaware breakwater, Delaware Bay, Delaware.....	1,921,000 00
Deepening the harbor of Baltimore, Maryland.....	55,000 00
Improving the debouches of the Dismal Swamp Canal, Virginia.....	25,000 00
Improving the harbor of Beaufort, North Carolina.....	17,962 01
Removal of obstructions at Ocracoke inlet North Carolina.....	132,750 00
Improving the navigation of Pamlico river, below Washington, North Carolina.....	10,000 00
Removing obstructions at the mouth of New river, North Carolina.....	47,037 99
Improving the navigation of Cape Fear river, North Carolina.....	202,627 00
Removing bar at Brunswick harbor, Georgia.....	10,000 00
Improving the navigation of Savannah river, Georgia.....	140,043 06
Survey and improvement of the Suwanua river, Florida.....	10,142 00
Improving the navigation of the river and harbor of St. Mark's, Florida.....	34,530 00
Improving the Ochlockung river, Florida.....	5,000 00
Removing obstructions in the Appalachicola river and bay.....	31,700 00
Improving the Escambia river, Florida.....	5,000 00
Improving the inland passage between St. Mary's and St. John's, Florida.....	71,897 93
Deepening the channel of the east pass to Appalachicola, Florida.....	9,900 00
Improvement of the harbor of Mobile, Alabama.....	150,863 60



Improving the navigation of Pascagoula river, Mississippi.....	25,500 00
Improving the navigation at the mouth of the Mississippi river, Louisiana.....	285,000 00
For arrearages appropriated by law, say.....	20,000 00
	<u>\$4 678,178 86</u>

## RECAPITULATION.

Maine.....	\$130,767 31	Virginia.....	25,000 00
New Hampshire.....	10,000 00	North Carolina.....	410,377 00
Massachusetts.....	516,184 63	Georgia.....	150,043 06
Rhode Island.....	86,700 00	Florida.....	168,169 93
Connecticut.....	163,452 32	Alabama.....	150 863 60
New York.....	339,500 00	Mississippi.....	25,500 00
New Jersey.....	28,963 00	Louisiana.....	285 000 00
Pennsylvania.....	126,265 23	Arrearages.....	20,000 00
Delaware, (including Delaware breakwater).....	1,986,392 78		<u>\$4,678,178 86</u>
Maryland.....	55,000 00		

## No. 7.—Statement of appropriations for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi, Ohio, Red River, Missouri, Arkansas, Hudson, and Savannah Rivers.

*For improving the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.*

May 24 1824.....	\$75,000 00	March 2, 1831.....	200,000 00
March 3, 1827.....	30,000 00	March 3, 1837.....	60,000 00
May 23, 1828.....	50,000 00	July 7, 1838.....	70,000 00
March 3, 1829.....	50,000 00		
April 23, 1830.....	50,000 00		<u>585,000 00</u>

*For improving the navigation of the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi Rivers.*

July 3, 1832.....	\$50,000 00	July 2, 1836.....	60,000 00
March 3, 1833.....	50,000 00	March 3, 1837.....	23,000 00
June 28, 1834.....	50,000 00	July 7, 1838.....	20,000 00
March 3, 1835.....	50,000 00		
			<u>303,000 00</u>

*For improving the navigation of the Mississippi river above the mouth of the Ohio and Missouri rivers.*

July 2, 1836.....	\$40,000 00	July 7, 1838.....	20 000 00
March 3, 1837.....	40,000 00		
			<u>100,000 00</u>

*For improving the navigation of the Arkansas river.*

July 3, 1832.....	\$15,000 00	July 7, 1838.....	40,000 00
March 3, 1835.....	40,000 00		
March 3, 1837.....	25,000 00		<u>120,000 00</u>

*For improving the navigation of the Ohio river, above the Falls of the Ohio.*

March 3 1835.....	\$50,000 00	July 7, 1838.....	50,000 00
July 2, 1836.....	20,000 00	June 11, 1844.....	100,000 00
March 3, 1837.....	60,000 00		
			<u>280,000 00</u>

*For improving the navigation of the Missouri, Mississippi, Ohio, and Arkansas rivers.*

Aug. 23, 1842.....	\$160,000 00	June 11, 1844.....	180,000 00
March 1, 1843.....	150,000 00		
			<u>430,000 00</u>

*For improving the navigation of the Hudson river, above and below Albany, in the State of New York.*

June 30, 1834.....	\$70,000 00	July 7, 1838.....	100,000 00
July 2, 1836.....	100,000 00		
March 3, 1837.....	100,000 00		<u>370,000 00</u>

*For improving the navigation of Red River, Louisiana.*

May 23, 1828.....	\$25,000 00	March 3, 1837.....	65,000 00
July 3, 1832.....	20,000 00	April 20, 1838.....	70,000 00
June 28, 1834.....	50,000 00	March 3, 1841.....	75,000 00
March 3, 1835.....	50,000 00		
July 2, 1836.....	70,800 00		<u>425,800 00</u>

*For improving the navigation of Savannah river, Georgia.*

May 18, 1826.....	\$50,000 00	March 3, 1835.....	20,000 00
July 3, 1832.....	25,000 00	July 7, 1838.....	15,000 00
June 28, 1834.....	30,000 00		
			<u>140,000 00</u>

*Improving the harbor of Baltimore, Maryland.*

July 4, 1836.....	\$20,000 00	July 7, 1838.....	20,000 00
March 3, 1837.....	15,000 00		
			<u>55,000 00</u>



No. 8.—*Appropriations for harbors on all the lakes—the river improvements not included.*

Harbors.	1824.	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.
Buffalo	-	-	\$15,000 00	-	\$34,206 00	-	\$15,488 00	\$25,412 00	\$10,300 00	\$31,700 00	\$22,500 00
Black Rock	-	-	-	-	-	\$30,000 00	3,198 00	1,800 00	5,100 00	-	12,000 00
Cattaraugus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dunkirk	-	-	-	\$3,000 00	6,000 00	9,812 75	1,341 75	6,400 00	10,200 00	-	4,000 00
Portland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Erie	-	\$20,000 00	7,000 00	2,000 00	6,233 18	7,390 25	-	4,200 00	4,500 00	6,000 00	23,045 00
Conneaut	-	-	-	-	-	7,500 00	6,135 65	6,370 00	7,800 00	-	2,000 00
Ashtabula	-	-	12,000 00	-	2,403 50	6,940 25	-	7,015 00	3,800 00	3,400 00	7,000 00
Grand river	-	\$1,000 00	5,620 00	-	9,135 11	-	5,563 18	6,680 00	2,600 00	-	11,456 00
Cleveland	-	-	-	10,000 00	-	12,179 00	1,786 56	3,670 00	6,000 00	-	13,315 00
Black river, Ohio	-	-	-	-	7,500 00	-	8,559 77	9,275 00	8,000 00	2,400 00	5,000 00
Vermillion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Huron	-	-	5,000 00	-	4,413 35	5,935 00	1,880 36	3,480 00	1,500 00	-	9,300 00
River Raisin	-	-	-	3,977 81	-	2,318 00	89 11	-	8,000 00	-	4,895 00
La Plaisance bay	-	-	-	-	-	2,956 00	-	-	1,500 00	500 00	2,000 00
Sandusky	-	-	2,000 00	-	1,517 76	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cunningham Creek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Michigan City	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. Joseph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chicago	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25,000 00	32,801 00
Milwaukee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Racine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Southport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oswego	-	-	-	33,348 64	9,583 39	-	7,472 00	22,016 84	19,000 00	8,400 00	33,666 00
Big Sodus bay	-	-	-	-	-	12,500 00	15,280 00	17,450 00	17,000 00	15,000 00	17,000 00
Genesee river	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 00	13,335 00	16,670 00	16,000 00	15,000 00	22,000 00
Oak Orchard creek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Salmon river	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Black river, N. Y.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burlington	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plattsburg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
White Hall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hero Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sackett's Harbor	-	-	3,000 00	-	3,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Harbors generally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aggregate	20,000 00	1,000 00	49,620 00	52,326 45	83,982 29	107,531 25	80,130 38	130,438 84	121,300 00	107,400 00	221,978 00



*Appropriations for harbors on all the lakes.—Continued.*

Harbors.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	Total.
Buffalo	-	-	-	\$68,500 00	-	-	-	-	-	\$40,000 00	-	\$263,106 00
Black Rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52,092 00
Cattaraugus	-	-	-	32,410 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57,410 00
Dunkirk	\$10,988 43	\$15,000 00	\$10,000 00	10,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 00	-	92,743 93
Portland	-	11,000 00	15,000 00	35,466 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55,466 00
Erie	5,000 00	10,000 00	10,000 00	30,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	40,000 00	-	185,550 92
Conneaut	-	15,192 49	15,000 00	8,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 00	-	50,305 65
Ashtabula	-	2,500 00	5,000 00	8,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 00	-	71,149 75
Grand River	7,591 00	-	8,000 00	10,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 00	-	68,054 29
Cleveland	-	6,000 00	-	10,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	25,000 00	-	151,313 15
Black River, O.	-	17,506 59	10,000 00	51,856 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65,804 77
Vermillion	4,400 00	9,260 00	6,410 00	5,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53,626 57
Huron	-	10,000 00	20,000 00	23,626 57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48,373 71
River Raisin	-	4,300 00	2,565 00	5,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 00	-	110,000 00
La Plaisance bay	30,000 00	15,000 00	30,000 00	13,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	20,000 00	-	19,603 07
Sandusky	-	323 15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,000 00
Cunningham creek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,000 00	-	22,006 12
Michigan city	-	1,532 36	5,000 00	5,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	25,000 00	-	135,733 59
St. Joseph	-	20,000 00	30,000 00	60,733 59	-	-	-	-	\$25,000 00	20,000 00	-	131,113 00
Chicago	-	20,000 00	15,000 00	51,113 00	-	-	-	-	25,000 00	30,000 00	-	246,601 00
Milwaukee	32,800 00	31,000 00	40,000 00	30,000 00	-	-	-	-	30,000 00	20,000 00	-	500,000 00
Racine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,500 00	-	12,500 00
Southport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,500 00	\$15,000 00	27,500 00
Oswego	6,485 00	21,200 00	15,000 00	46,067 00	-	-	-	-	-	20,000 00	-	246,238 87
Bigodus bay	13,665 00	12,600 00	12,000 00	10,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 00	-	147,495 00
Genesee river	4,265 00	20,000 00	10,000 00	25,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 00	-	162,270 00
Oak Orchard creek	-	5,000 00	5,000 00	5,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 00	-	20,000 00
Salmon river	-	5,000 00	10,000 00	30,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 00	-	50,000 00
Black river, N. Y.	-	5,000 00	10,000 00	22,401 00	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 00	-	37,401 00
Burlington	-	10,000 00	10,000 00	50,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 00	-	80,000 00
Plattsburg	-	10,000 00	10,000 00	27,500 00	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 00	-	57,500 00
White Hall	-	8,000 00	10,000 00	15,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33,000 00
Hero islands	-	15,000 00	6,000 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21,000 00
Sackett's Harbor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,000 00
Harbors generally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,000 00	-	20,000 00
Aggregate	115,194 43	300,414 59	319,975 00	680,673 16	-	-	-	-	80,000 00	375,000 00	15,000 00	2,861,964 39



No. 9.—*Extract from Mr. Madison's special message—1811.*

The utility of canal navigation is universally admitted. It is not less certain that scarcely any country offers more extensive opportunities for that branch of improvements than the United States, and none, perhaps, inducements equally persuasive, to make the most of them. The particular undertaking contemplated by the State of New York, which marks an honorable spirit of enterprise, and comprises objects of national as well as more limited importance, will recall the attention of Congress to the signal advantages to be derived to the United States from a general system of internal communications and conveyances, and suggest to their consideration whatever steps may be proper, on their part, towards its introduction and accomplishment. As some of those advantages have an intimate connexion with arrangements and exertions for the general security, it is at a period calling for these, that the merits of such a system will be seen in the strongest lights.

No. 10.—*Extract from Mr. Madison's seventh annual message.*

Among the means of advancing the public interest, the occasion is a proper one for recalling the attention of Congress to the great importance of establishing throughout our country the roads and canals which can best be executed under the national authority. No objects within the circle of political economy, so richly repay the expense bestowed upon them; there are none, the utility of which is more universally ascertained and acknowledged, none that do more honor to the government, whose wise and enlarged patriotism duly appreciates them. Nor is there any country which presents a field where nature invites more the art of man to complete her own work for his accommodation and benefit. These considerations are strengthened, moreover, by the political effect of these facilities for intercommunication in bringing and binding more closely together the various parts of our extended confederacy. Whilst the States individually, with a laudable enterprise and emulation, avail themselves of their local advantages by new roads, by navigable canals, and by improving the streams susceptible of navigation, the General Government is the more urged to similar undertakings, requiring a national jurisdiction and national means, by the prospects of thus systematically completing so inestimable a work. And it is a happy reflection, that any defect of constitutional authority which may be encountered, can be supplied in a mode which the Constitution itself has providently pointed out.

No. 11.—*Extract from Mr. Monroe's Inaugural Address.*

Other interests of high importance will claim attention; among which, the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place. By thus facilitating the intercourse between the States, we shall add much to the convenience and comfort of our fellow-citizens, much to the ornament of the country, and, what is of greater importance, we shall shorten distances; and, by making each part more accessible to and dependent on the other, we shall bind the Union more closely together. Nature has done so much for us, by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays, and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete the work seems to be peculiarly strong. A more interesting spectacle was, perhaps, never seen, than is exhibited within the limits of the United States; a territory so vast and advantageously situated, containing objects so general, so useful, so happily connected in all their parts.

No. 12.—*Extract from Mr. Monroe's first annual message.*

When we consider the vast extent of territory within the United States, the great amount and value of its productions, the connexion of its parts, and other circumstances on which their prosperity and happiness depends, we cannot fail to entertain a high sense of the advantage to be derived from the facility which may be offered in the intercourse between them, by means of good roads and canals. Never did a country of such vast extent offer equal inducements to improvements of this kind, nor ever were consequences of such magnitude involved in them. \* \* \* \* Disregarding early impressions, I have bestowed on the subject all the deliberation which its great importance, and a just sense of my duty required, and the result is a settled conviction in my mind, that Congress do not possess the right. It is not contained in any of the specified powers granted to Congress, nor can I consider it incidental to, or a necessary means, viewed on the most liberal scale, for carrying into effect any of the powers which are specifically granted. In communicating this result, I cannot resist the obligation which I feel, to suggest to Congress the propriety of recommending to the



States the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, which shall give to Congress the right in question. In cases of doubtful construction, especially of such vital interest, it comports with the nature and origin of our republican institutions, and will contribute much to preserve them, to apply to our constituents for an explicit grant of the power. We may confidently rely, that if it appears to their satisfaction that the power is necessary, it will be granted.

*Extract from Mr. Monroe's seventh annual message.*

Many patriotic and enlightened citizens, who have made the subject an object of particular investigation, have suggested an improvement of still greater importance. They are of opinion that the waters of the Chesapeake and Ohio may be connected together by one continued canal, and at an expense far short of the value and importance of the object to be obtained. If this could be accomplished, it is impossible to calculate the beneficial consequences which would result from it. A great portion of the produce of the very fertile country through which it would pass, would find a market through that channel. Troops might be moved with great facility in war, with cannon and every kind of munition, and in either direction. Connecting the Atlantic with the western country, in a line passing through the seat of the National Government, it would contribute essentially to strengthen the bonds of union itself. Believing, as I do, that Congress possesses the right to appropriate money for such a national object, (the jurisdiction remaining to the States through which the canal would pass,) I submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be advisable to authorize, by an adequate appropriation, the employment of a suitable number of the officers of the corps of engineers, to examine the unexplored ground during the next session, and to report thereon. It will likewise be proper to extend their examination to the several routes through which the waters of the Ohio may be connected, by canals, with those of Lake Erie.

As the Cumberland road will require annual repairs, and Congress have not thought it expedient to recommend to the States an amendment to the Constitution, for the purpose of vesting in the United States a power to adopt and execute a system of internal improvement; it is also submitted to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient to authorize the Executive to enter into an arrangement with the several States, through which the road passes, to establish tolls, each within its limits, for the purpose of defraying the expense of future repairs, and of providing, also, by suitable penalties, for its protection against further injuries.

No. 13.—*Extracts from Mr. Monroe's special message, May 4, 1822.*

A power to establish turnpikes, with gates and tolls, and to enforce the collection of the tolls by penalties, implies a power to adopt and execute a complete system of internal improvement. A right to impose duties to be paid by all persons passing a certain road, and on horses and carriages, as is done by this bill, involves the right to take the land from the proprietor, on a valuation, and to pass laws for the protection of the road from injuries; and if it exist as to one road, it exists as to another, and to as many roads as Congress may think proper to establish. A right to legislate for one of these purposes, is a right to legislate for the others. It is a complete right of jurisdiction and sovereignty for all the purposes of internal improvement, and not merely the right of applying money, under the power vested in Congress, to make appropriations; under which power, with the consent of the States through which this road passes, the work was originally commenced, and has been so far executed. I am of opinion that Congress do not possess this power; that the States, individually, cannot grant it; for, although they may assent to the appropriation of money within their limits for such purposes, they can grant no power of jurisdiction or sovereignty, by special compacts, with the United States. This power can be granted only by an amendment to the Constitution, and in the mode prescribed by it.

If the power exist, it must be either because it has been specifically granted to the United States, or that it is incidental to some power which has been specifically granted. If we examine the specific grants of power, we do not find it among them; nor is it incidental to any power which has been specifically granted.

It has never been contended that the power was specifically granted. It is claimed only as being incidental to some one or more of the powers which are specifically granted. The following are the powers from which it is said to be derived: 1st. From the right to establish post offices and post roads. 2d. From the right to declare war. 3d. To regulate commerce. 4th. To pay the debts and provide for the common de-



fence and general welfare. 5th. From the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution all the powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof. 6th and lastly. From the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States. According to my judgment, it cannot be derived from either of those powers, nor from all of them united; and, in consequence, it does not exist,

*Extracts from Mr. Monroe's eighth annual message.*

The provisions in the several acts of Congress of the last session for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi and the Ohio, of the harbor of Presque Isle on Lake Erie, and the repair of the Plymouth beech, are in the course of regular execution, and there is reason to believe that the appropriations in each instance will be adequate to the object. To carry these improvements fully into effect, the superintendence of them has been assigned to the officers of the Corps of Engineers.

Under the act of the 30th April last, authorizing the President to cause a survey to be made, with the necessary plans and estimates of such roads and canals as he might deem of national importance in a commercial or military point of view, or for the transportation of the mail, a board has been instituted, consisting of two distinguished officers of the Corps of Engineers, and a distinguished civil engineer, with assistants, who have been actually employed in carrying it to effect the objects of the act. They have carefully examined the route between the Potomac and the Ohio rivers, between the latter and Lake Erie, between the Alleghany and the Susquehannah; and the routes between the Delaware and the Raritan, Barnstable and Buzzard's bay, and between Boston harbor and Narraganset bay. Such portion of the Corps of Topographical Engineers as could be spared from the survey of the coast, has been employed in surveying the very important route between the Potomac and the Ohio. Considerable progress has been made in it, but the survey cannot be completed until the next season. It is gratifying to add, from the view already taken, that there is good cause to believe that this great national object may be fully accomplished. It is contemplated to commence early the next season the execution of the other branch of the act, that which relates to roads, and with the survey of a route from this city, through the Southern States, to New Orleans, the importance of which cannot be too highly estimated.

All the officers of both the Corps of Engineers, who could be spared from other services, have been employed in exploring and surveying the routes for canals. It need scarcely be remarked, that the more extensively these corps are engaged in the improvement of their country, in the execution of the powers of Congress, and in aid of the States, and such improvements as lie beyond that limit, when such aid is desired, the happier the effect will be in many views of which the subject is susceptible.

No. 14.—*Extracts from Mr. Jackson's first annual message, March 4, 1829.*

After the extinction of the public debt, it is not probable that any adjustment of the tariff, upon principles satisfactory to the people of the Union, will, until a remote period, if ever, leave the government without a considerable surplus in the Treasury, beyond what may be required for its current service. As then the period approaches when the application of the revenue to the payment of debt will cease, the disposition of the surplus will present a subject for the serious deliberation of Congress, and it may be fortunate for the country that it is yet to be decided. Considered in connexion with the difficulties which have heretofore attended appropriations for purposes of internal improvement, and with those which this experience tells us will certainly arise, whenever power over such subjects may be exercised by the General Government, it is hoped that it may lead to the adoption of some plan which will reconcile the diversified interests of the States, and strengthen the bonds which unite them. Every member of the Union, in peace and in war, will be benefitted by the improvement of inland navigation, and the construction of highways in the several States. Let us, then, endeavor to attain this benefit in a mode which will be satisfactory to all. That hitherto adopted, has, by many of our fellow-citizens, been deprecated as an infraction of the Constitution; while, by others, it has been viewed as inexpedient. All feel that it has been employed at the expense of harmony in the legislative councils.

To avoid these evils, it appears to me that the most safe, just, and federal disposition which could be made of this surplus revenue, would be its apportionment among the several States, according to their ratio of representation; and should this measure not be found warranted by the Constitution, that it be expedient to propose to the States an amendment authorizing it.



No. 15.—*Extracts from Mr. Jackson's Maysville Road Veto, May 24, 1830.*

Sincerely friendly to the improvement of our country by means of roads and canals, I regret that any difference of opinion in the mode of contributing to it should exist between us. \* \* \* The constitutional power of the Federal Government to construct or promote works of internal improvement presents itself in two points of view; the first, as bearing upon the sovereignty of the States within whose limits their execution is contemplated, if jurisdiction of the territory which they may occupy be claimed as necessary to their preservation and use; the second, as asserting the simple right to appropriate money from the National Treasury in aid of such works when undertaken, by State authority surrendering the claim of jurisdiction. In the first view, the question of power is an open one, and can be decided without the embarrassment attending the other, arising from the practice of the Government. Although frequently and strenuously attempted, the power to this extent has never been exercised by the Government in a single instance. It does not, in my opinion possess it; and no bill, therefore, which admits it, can receive my official sanction.

But in the other view of the power, the question is differently situated. The ground taken at an early period of the Government was, that when ever money has been raised by the general authority, and is to be applied to a particular measure, a question arises whether the particular measure be within the enumerated authorities vested in Congress. If it be, the money requisite for it may be applied to it, if not, no such application can be made. The document in which this principle was first advanced, is of a deservedly high authority, and should be held in grateful remembrance for its immediate agency in rescuing the country from much existing abuse, and for its conservative effect upon some of the most valuable principles of the Constitution. \* \* \* In the administration of Mr. Jefferson, we have two examples of the exercise of the right of appropriation, which, in the considerations that led to their adoption and in their effects upon the public mind, have had a greater agency in marking the character of the power than any subsequent events. I allude to the payment of fifteen millions of dollars for the purchase of Louisiana, and to the original appropriation for the construction of the Cumberland road, the latter act deriving much weight from the acquiescence in it of three of the most powerful of the members of the original confederacy, expressed through their respective legislatures. Although the circumstances of the latter case may be such as to deprive so much of it as relates to the actual construction of the road of the force of an obligatory exposition of the Constitution, it must nevertheless be admitted, that so far as the mere appropriation of money is concerned, they present the principle in its most imposing aspect. No less than twenty-three laws have been passed through all the forms of the Constitution, appropriating upwards of two millions and a half of dollars out of the National Treasury, in support of that improvement, with the approbation of every President of the United States, including my predecessors, since its commencement. Independently of the sanction given to appropriations for the Cumberland and other roads and objects, under this power, the administration of Mr. Madison was characterized by an act which furnishes the strongest evidence of his opinion of its extent. A bill was passed through both houses of Congress, and presented for his approval, "setting apart and pledging certain funds for constructing roads and canals, and improving the navigation of water courses, in order to facilitate, promote, and give security to internal commerce among the several States, and to render easy and less expensive the means and provisions for the common defence." Regarding the bill as asserting a power in the Federal Government to construct roads and canals within the limits of the States in which they were made, he objected to its passage on the ground of its unconstitutionality, declaring that the assent of the respective States, in the mode provided by the bill, could not confer the power in question: that the only cases in which the consent and cession of particular States can extend the power of Congress, are those specified and provided for in the Constitution; and superadding to those avowals his opinion, that restriction of the power "to provide for the common defence and general welfare" to cases which are to be provided for by the expenditure of money, would still leave within the legislative power of Congress, all the great and most important measures of Government; money being the necessary and ordinary means of carrying them into execution. I have not been able to consider these declarations in any other point of view than as a concession that the RIGHT OF APPROPRIATION IS NOT LIMITED by the power to carry into effect the measure for which the money is asked, as was formerly contended.

The views of Mr. Monroe upon this subject were not left to inference. During his administration, a bill was passed through both houses of Congress conferring the jurisdiction and prescribing the mode by which the Federal Government should exercise it.



in the case of the Cumberland road. He returned it with his objections to its passage, and in assigning them, took occasion to say, that in the early stages of the Government he had inclined the construction that Congress had no right to expend money except in the performance of acts authorized by the other specific grants of power, according to a strict construction of them, but, that on further reflection and observation, his mind had undergone a change; that his opinion then was, "*that Congress have an UNLIMITED POWER TO RAISE MONEY, and that in its appropriation they have a discretionary power, RESTRICTED only by the duty to appropriate it to purposes of common defence, and of GENERAL, not local, national, not state, benefit;*" and this was avowed to be the governing principle through the residue of his administration. The views of the last administration are of such recent date, as to render a particular reference to them unnecessary. It is well known that the appropriating power, to the utmost extent which had been claimed for it, in relation to internal improvements, was fully recognised and exercised by it. \* \* \* \* \*

The bill before me does not call for a more definite opinion upon the particular circumstances which will warrant appropriations of money, by Congress, to aid works of internal improvement; for, although the extension of *the power to apply money beyond that of carrying into effect the object for which it is appropriated, has, as we have seen, been long claimed and exercised by the Federal Government, yet, such grants have always been professedly under the control of the general principle that the works which might be thus aided, should be "of a general, not local, national, not State, character."* A disregard of of this distinction would, of necessity, lead to the subversion of the federal system.

That even this is an unsafe one, arbitrary in its nature, and liable, consequently, to great abuses, is too obvious to require the confirmation of experience. It is, however, sufficiently definite and imperative to my mind to forbid my approbation of any bill having the character of the one under consideration. I have given to its provisions all the reflection demanded by a just regard for the interests of those of our fellow-citizens who have desired its passage, and by the respect which is due to a co-ordinate branch of the Government; but I am not able to view it in any other light than as a measure of purely local character; or, if it can be considered national, that no further distinction between the appropriate duties of the General and State Governments need be attempted, for there can be no local interest that may not, with equal propriety, be denominated national. It has no connexion with any established system of improvements; is exclusively within the limits of a State, starting at a point on the Ohio river and running out sixty miles to an interior town; and even as far as the State is interested, conferring partial instead of general advantages. \* \* \*

Considering the magnitude and importance of the power, and the embarrassments to which, from the very nature of the thing, its exercise must necessarily be subjected, the real friends of internal improvement ought not to be willing to confide it to accident and chance. What is properly national in its character or otherwise, is an enquiry which is often extremely difficult of solution. \* \* \* The question regards the character of the work; not that of those by whom it is to be accomplished. Notwithstanding the union of the Government with the corporation, by whose immediate agency any work of internal improvement is carried on, the enquiry will still remain, is it national, and conducive to the benefit of the whole, or local, and operating only to the advantage of a portion of the Union? \*

But, although I might not feel it to be my official duty to interpose the executive veto to the passage of a bill appropriating money for the construction of such works as are authorised by the States, and are national in their character, I do not wish to be understood as expressing an opinion that it is expedient at this time for the General Government to embark in a system of this kind; and anxious that my constituents should be possessed of my views on this as well as on all other subjects which they have committed to my discretion, I shall state them frankly and briefly \* \*

\* \* \* By the statement from the Treasury Department, and those from the clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives, herewith submitted, it appears that the bills which have passed into laws, and those which, in all probability, will pass before the adjournment of Congress, anticipate appropriations which, with the ordinary expenditures for the support of Government, will exceed considerably the amount in the treasury for the year 1830. Thus, whilst we are diminishing the revenue by a reduction of the duties on teas, coffee, and cocoa, the appropriations for internal improvement are increasing beyond the available means of the treasury; and if to this calculation be added the amount contained in the bills now pending before the two Houses, it may be safely affirmed that ten millions of dollars, would not make up the excess over the treasury receipts, unless the payment of the national debt be postponed,



and the means now pledged to that object, applied to those enumerated in these bills. Without a well regulated system of internal improvement, this exhausting mode of appropriation is not likely to be avoided, and the plain consequence must be, either a continuance of the national debt or a resort to additional taxes.

No. 16.—*Extracts from Mr. Jackson's sixth annual message, December 2, 1834.*

The questions which have arisen upon this subject, have related—

1st. To the power of making internal improvements within the limits of a State, with the right of territorial jurisdiction, sufficient at least for their preservation and use.

2d. To the right of appropriating money in aid of such works when carried on by a State, or by a company in virtue of a State authority, surrendering the claim of jurisdiction; and,

3d. To the propriety of appropriations for improvements of a particular class, viz: light-houses, beacons, buoys, public piers, and for the removal of sand bars, sawyers, and other temporary and partial impediments in our navigable rivers and harbors.

The claims of power for the General Government, upon each of these points, certainly present matter of the deepest interest. The first is, however, of much the greater importance, inasmuch as, in addition to the dangers of unequal and improvident expenditures of public moneys, common to all, there is superadded to that the conflicting jurisdiction of the respective governments. Federal jurisdiction, at least to the extent I have stated, has been justly regarded by its advocates as necessarily appurtenant to the power in question, if that exists by the Constitution. That the most injurious conflicts would unavoidably arise between the respective jurisdictions of the State and Federal Governments, in the absence of a constitutional provisions marking out their respective boundaries, cannot be doubted. \* \* \* \* \*

Yet, we all know that, notwithstanding these grave objections, this dangerous doctrine was, at one time, apparently proceeding to its final establishment with fearful rapidity. The desire to embark the Federal Government in works of internal improvement, prevailed in the highest degree, during the first session of the first Congress that I had the honor to meet in my present situation. When the bill authorizing a subscription on the part of the United States for stock in the Maysville and Lexington Turnpike Company, passed the two Houses, there had been reported by the committees on internal improvements, bills containing appropriations for such objects, exclusive of those for the Cumberland road, and for harbors and light-houses, to the amount of about one hundred and six millions of dollars.

In this amount was included authority to the Secretary of the Treasury to subscribe for the stock of different companies to a great extent, and the residue was principally for the direct construction of roads by this Government. In addition to these projects, which have been presented to the two Houses under the sanction and recommendation of their respective committees on internal improvements, there was then still pending before the committees, and in memorials to Congress, presented but not referred, different projects for works of a similar character, the expense of which cannot be estimated with certainty, but must have exceeded one hundred millions of dollars. \* \* \* \*

From attempts to appropriate the national funds to objects which are confessedly of a local character, we cannot, I trust, have any thing further to apprehend. My views in regard to the expediency of making appropriations for works which are claimed to be of a national character, and prosecuted under State authority, assuming that Congress have the right to do so, were stated in my annual message to Congress in 1830; and, also, in that containing my objections to the Maysville road bill. \* \* \* \* \*

There is another class of appropriations for what may be called, without impropriety, internal improvements, which have always been regarded as standing upon different grounds from those to which I have referred. I allude to such as have for their object the improvement of our harbors, the removal of partial and temporary obstructions in our navigable rivers, and for the facility and security of our foreign commerce. The grounds upon which I distinguished appropriations of this character from others, have already been stated to Congress. I will now only add, that, at the first session of Congress under the new Constitution, it was provided by law, that all expenses which should accrue from and after the 15th day of August, 1789, in the necessary support and maintenance and repairs of all light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, erected, placed, or sunk, before the passage of the act, within any bay, inlet, harbor, or port of the United States, for rendering the navigation thereof easy and safe, should be defrayed out of the Treasury of the United States; and, further, that it be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to provide, by contracts, with the approbation of the President, for rebuilding, when necessary, and keeping in good repair, the light-houses, bea-



cons, buoys, and public piers, in the several States, and for furnishing them with supplies. Appropriations for similar objects have been continued from that time to the present without interruption or dispute. As a natural consequence of the increase and extension of our foreign commerce, ports of entry and delivery have been multiplied and established, not only upon our seaboard, but in the interior of the country, upon our lakes and navigable rivers. The convenience and safety of this commerce have led to the gradual extension of these expenditures; to the erection of light-houses, the placing, planting, and sinking of buoys, beacons, and piers, and to the removal of partial and temporary obstructions in our navigable rivers, and the harbors upon our great lakes, as well as on the seaboard. Although I have expressed to Congress my apprehension that these expenditures have sometimes been extravagant and disproportionate to the advantages to be derived from them, I have not felt it to be my duty to refuse my assent to bills containing them, and have contented myself to follow, in this respect, in the footsteps of my predecessors. Sensible, however, from experience and observation, of the great abuses to which the unrestricted exercise of this authority by Congress was exposed, I have prescribed a limitation for the government of my own conduct, by which expenditures of this character are confined to places below the ports of entry or delivery established by law. I am very sensible that this restriction is not as satisfactory as could be desired, and that much embarrassment may be caused to the Executive Department in its execution, by appropriations for remote and not well understood objects. \* \* \* \*

I am not hostile to internal improvements, and wish to see them extended to every part of the country. But I am fully persuaded, if they are not commenced in a proper manner, confined to proper objects, and conducted under an authority generally conceded to be rightful, that a successful prosecution of them cannot be reasonably expected. The attempt will meet with resistance where it might otherwise receive support, and, instead of strengthening the bonds of our confederacy, it will only multiply and aggravate the cause of disunion.

No. 17.—*Expenses of the light-house establishment from 1st July, 1816, to 1st July, 1841.*

In the years.	Cost of rebuilding, repairing light-houses and light boats, intendents' salaries, &c.	Cost of oil.	Cost of sites & building light houses, light boats, beacons, constructing and placing bouys, &c.	Amount of the expenditures.
1817	\$98,407 27	\$23,780 00	—	\$122,187 27
1818	92,941 51	19,126 00	\$50,000 00	162,067 51
1819	87,007 20	33,932 22	24,411 37	145,350 79
1820	77,634 28	26,822 00	58,445 51	162,901 79
1821	100,898 70	20,423 06	25,263 08	146,584 84
1822	81,208 52	28,410 00	36,261 24	145,879 76
1823	101,072 47	16,477 60	100,060 18	217,610 25
1824	98,171 76	13,239 34	42,008 86	153,419 96
1825	166,524 62	11,754 15	59,585 87	237,864 64
1826	88,615 37	25,027 91	75,206 44	188,849 72
1827	126,057 93	36,191 70	162,610 15	324,859 78
1828	137,614 23	38,572 35	89,297 59	265,484 17
1829	123,629 93	39,439 74	121,903 40	284,973 07
1830	135,401 32	43,092 50	60,208 81	238,702 63
1831	140,242 48	42,226 06	122,857 80	305,326 34
1832	142,330 31	47,191 99	70,595 09	260,117 39
1833	186,582 42	79,412 21	48,245 82	314,240 45
1834	206,161 92	68,715 65	10,062 22	284,941 48
1835	201,410 33	70,362 02	110,336 62	382,108 97
1836	210,813 33	73,238 74	33,742 19	317,794 26
1837	227,963 33	74,482 50	75,971 92	378,417 83
1838	268,263 00	88,189 00	197,566 18	554,018 18
1839	300,088 00	94,243 62	219,044 67	613,376 29
1840	323,131 00	108,856 26	102,245 94	534,233 20
1841	343,086 64	116,735 96	14,988 84	474,811 44
	4,065,259 56	1,239,942 66	1,910,919 79	7,216,122 01



No. 18.—*Expenditures For fortifications from 1791 to 1845 inclusive.*

Year	Amount	Description
1791 to 1833.....	\$15,284,581 56	Executive Document, 2d Ses. 23d Con. vol. 3.
1834 to 1837.....	2,789,634 77	Executive Document, 2d Ses. 25th Con. vol. 8.
1838, 1839, 1840.....	1,909,765 72	Laws of the United States.
1841.....	1,648,700 00	Laws of the United States.
1842.....	278,000 00	Laws of the United States.
1843.....	624,500 00	Laws of the United States.
1844.....	525,600 72	Laws of the United States.
1845.....	798,500 00	Laws of the United States.

**\$23,859,282 77**

No. 19.—*Receipts from sales of Public Lands, from the earliest period of sales to 30th December, 1843, as given in Senate Doc. No. 246, 3d sess. 27th Congress, and Executive Document, No. 15, 2d sess. 28th Congress.*

Nett sales under credit system..	\$27,900,379	29	From 1st July, 1834.....	\$6,099,981	04
From 1st July, 1820.....	435,078	79	1835.....	15,999,804	11
1821.....	1,123,392	52	1836.....	25,167,833	06
1822.....	908,817	25	1837.....	7,007,523	04
1823.....	847,607	99	1838.....	4,305,564	64
1824.....	947,086	67	1839.....	6,464,556	78
1825.....	1,392,324	55	1840.....	2,789,637	53
1826.....	1,128,617	27	1841.....	1,463,364	06
1827.....	1,318,105	36	1842.....	1,079,366	42
1828.....	1,221,357	99			
1829.....	1,572,863	45		\$123,251,379	53
1830.....	2,433,432	94	Amount received in 1843.....	1,997,351	10
1831.....	3,557,023	76			
1832.....	3,115,376	09	Total.....	\$125,248,730	63
1833.....	4,972,284	84			